AN EXAMINATION INTO THE PRINCIPLES, CONDUCT, AND DESIGNS, OF THE MINISTER.

Rarò antecedentem ſceleſtum
Deſeruit pede pœna claudo.

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EXAMINATION, &c.

THE inimitable Fielding ſomewhere obſerves, that he looks upon the vulgar obſervation of the Devil's deſerting his friends, and leaving them in the lurch, to be a great abuſe of that gentleman's character; and that, though he may perhaps ſometimes deſert his cup-acquaintance, or who are at moſt but half his, yet he generally ſtands by thoſe who are thoroughly his friends, and helps them off in all extremities till their bargain expires.

In reflecting upon the extraordinary profeſſions which the Miniſter gave us on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, I felt ſtrongly the force of this obſervation. It indeed applies ſo happily, that had it been made for him, it could not have more exactly expreſſed the character of the Earl of Shelburne. The bargain of the Miniſter is not yet expired,

and the Devil did not leave him in the lurch. He procured an unanimous addreſs of thanks for a compoſition, in which folly and treachery ſtarted for pre-eminence, and it is difficult to ſay which gained the prize.

THE Miniſter opens with a true picture of himſelf, marked in ſuch ſtrong Shelburne colours, that it brings with it ſufficient proof of authenticity, and ſets aſide (what is not very common in his caſe) the neceſſity of recurring to further evidence.

" It comes in ſuch a queſtionable ſhape
" That I will ſpeak to it. I'll call thee Stuart,
" King, Shelburne, Royal Charles! Oh, anſwer me!
" Let me not burſt in ignorance, but tell,
" Why thy curs'd bones, interr'd with Stuart's earth,
" Have burſt their cearments? Why the ſepulchre,
" Wherein we ſaw thee quietly inurn'd
" The glorious Revolution's ſacred day,
" Hath op'd its dang'rous and devouring jaws
" To caſt thee up again?

THIS ſpawn of deſpotiſm, this medley of fraud and nonſenſe, begins thus: " *Since* I have had the " adminiſtration of affairs *I have employed my whole* " *time in the care and attention which the important* " *and critical conjuncture of public affairs required of* " *me.*

" *I Laſt*

*" I loſt no time in giving the neceſſary orders to " prohibit the further proſecution of offenſive war " upon the continent of North America. Adopting, " as my * inclination will always lead me to do, with " deciſion and effect, whatever I collect to be the ſenſe " of the parliament and people, I have pointed all my " views and meaſures, as well in Europe as North " America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with " thoſe colonies."*

The Miniſter gives a proof of his dexterity in the art of conveying a falſehood in the words of truth. He omits all reference to the time in which theſe orders were tranſmitted to North America, hoping, in the general inattention commonly paid to the circumſtances of time and place, to engroſs the credit which is due to the adminiſtration of Lord Rockingham. Such an exordium ſhews the abſolute neceſſity of examining with the greateſt nicety whatever comes from the pen or mouth of the Miniſter. His habits are ſo made up in duplicity, that I really queſtion, whether, was there even a neceſſity of ſpeaking truth for his own ſalvation, he would be capable of doing it in a direct manner without evaſion. In doing him the juſtice to ſay this, as occaſions may poſſibly occur

* See the Earl of Shelburne's ſpeech in July laſt.

which

which require it of him, the world will naturally make a kind of general rule (eſpecially thoſe who deſire information in the preſent critical ſtate of our affairs), never to believe haſtily one word he ſays.

The orders "*to prohibit the further proſecution* "*of offenſive war upon the continent of North Ame-* "*rica*" were tranſmitted under the revered Adminiſtration of Lord Rockingham, who adopted, (as their inclinations on every occaſion led them to do) with deciſion and effect the ſenſe of the Houſe of Commons on the memorable twenty-ſeventh day of February; and who pointed all their views and meaſures to an entire and cordial reconciliation with the United States of North America, by entering into negotiations for a general peace, as the beſt means to effect it; and whoſe views were counteracted in thoſe negotiations by this very Miniſter, who now aſſumes ſuch merit.

The Miniſter might have ſpared himſelf the trouble "*of digeſting the bitter pill of offering to de-* "*clare the Colonies of North America free and inde-* "*pendent States.*" They have been long in poſſeſſion of it. To give up pretenſions to an eſtate after repeated and unſucceſsful trials, is of little conſequence to the poſſeſſor. His affections can never

never be gained by the matter, though they may by the manner of doing it. But the Miniſter knew where he could pay his court by this language, and he has effectually done it in that place. Such monſtrous and abſurd inconſiſtencies will not, however, be ſo eaſily digeſted by the public. They are not averſe to receiving promiſes, but they generally look to the means of performing them which the Miniſter thinks not at all neceſſary to be taken into conſideration. To extricate himſelf from thoſe which he has ſo liberally diſpenſed on all ſides, requires perhaps greater abilities than he is capable of exerting; notwithſtanding the dependence which he places on his management of the remaining ill-humours of the people reſpecting the Independence of America.

I TAKE it for granted that he is deſirous of renewing the American war. To compaſs this, he muſt firſt get rid of the Reſolution of the Houſe of Commons. That Houſe is not of a temper to be trifled with in a buſineſs which has coſt them ſo much, and the reflexion of which makes them ſtill ſore. He may expect, (for he has a great opinion of his dexterity in intrigue) by artfully playing upon thoſe remains of diſappointment and vanity which ſtill prevail, in ſome degree, among the people, to nurſe up ſuch a ſtock of ill-temper, as will afford

ford the means of renewing all their former infatuation and madneſs. A leſs ſuſpected man might play upon them with ſucceſs; but the Miniſter verifies ſo much that vulgar proverb, 'better known than truſted,' that it is hardly probable he can intrigue to any purpoſe. In the Houſe of Commons it muſt be impoſſible. Their Reſolution of the 27th February, ſo immediately affecting the dependence of America, is an unequivocal approbation of the independence of that country. We have it not in our power to withhold it from them; therefore the granting it freely and unconditionally, is the only means left of regaining their confidence. The words of the Miniſter convict him of an intent to deal unfairly, both with this country and America. Why otherwiſe did he dwell with ſuch ſatisfaction upon the means he had ſecured of revoking the dreadful agreement, "*which was to ſet the ſun of* "*Great Britain?*" But I beg his pardon. I ſuppoſe he at that inſtant recollected the fatal ſentence he had pronounced upon the Miniſter who granted Independence to America. The Earl of Shelburne had pronounced the Miniſter who granted Independence to America, to be a traitor to his country. He had, I ſuppoſe, loſt all recollection of this dreadful opinion, when,

"*Finding*

" *Finding it indiſpenſible to the attainment of this*
" *object, I did not heſitate to go the full length veſted*
" *in me, and offered to declare them free and indepen-*
" *dent States, by an article to be inſerted in the treaty*
" *of peace. Proviſional articles are agreed upon, to*
" *take effect, whenever terms of peace ſhall be finally*
" *ſettled with the Court of France.*"

THIS final ſettlement would have been long ago effected, had the late Adminiſtration continued.—— But death deprived us of the valuable head; and the intrigues of the Earl of Shelburne of the remaining ornaments, the Duke of Portland, Lord John Cavendiſh, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke. Had that Adminiſtration continued, the United States of North America would have been declared irrevocably and unconditionally, Free and Independent States. They would have granted America in peace, what ſhe had obtained in war. By frankneſs of conduct we ſhould have regained their confidence; and ſince it was impoſſible that we could derive from them the full benefit of ſubjects, we ſhould have enjoyed in them all the benefit of good and faithful allies. Inſtead of eventual proviſional articles, there would have been a ſolid peace. Or, (which is hardly probable, as France became really deſirous of peace, when ſhe ſaw the Government of

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this country in able hands) had the Houſe of Bourbon been unreaſonable in their demands, we ſhould have given ſo unequivocal a proof of our ſincerity, that America from that moment could have been rendered of little avail to France in the further proſecution of the war. The people of America, finding themſelves within reach of peace, in full poſſeſſion of all that they had contended for, the great point of Independence, (to procure which, France, for the mutual advantage of both countries, had taken up arms), fully ſecured; at the ſame time that equitable and advantageous terms were offered to France herſelf; would have been with great difficulty, if at all, brought forward to continue the war. The road is plain, did the Miniſter chooſe to find it.

"*I Have ſacrificed every conſideration of my own to* "*the good of my people.*" In other words, the intereſts of the Crown are ſeparate from thoſe of the People. In turning over the volumes of the Hiſtory of the Houſes of Orange and Brunſwick, ſince they have been on the throne of Great Britain, I could find no ſuch expreſſions. I went farther back, and ſoon met with ſucceſs. I found it written in almoſt every page of the Houſe of Stuart. Though Biſhop Burnet has a little of narrative old age in his ſtories, yet his goodneſs of heart more

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than makes amends. He tells us, that though the adminiſtration of the Duke of Lauderdale was proved by the Scotch Lords before the Council to be in many parts unjuſt and illegal, and againſt the expreſs laws of the kingdom; yet Charles II. maintained, that notwithſtanding they had objected many damned things he had done againſt them, there was nothing objected that was againſt his ſervice. In what does this ſeparation of intereſts between the crown and people conſiſt, to occaſion ſuch a ſacrifice? And what is the ſacrifice which is made to the "*wiſhes and opinion of the people? What* "*is the humble and earneſt prayer to Almighty God, that* "*Great Britain may not feel the evils which might* "*reſult from ſo great a diſmemberment of the Empire?*" Are we to be ſent back to ſtudy the divine right of kings, which puzzled the caſuiſts of the laſt age? The priſon-doors which the Whig Adminiſtration of Whig princes have kept cloſely ſhut up, ſeem to be burſting open, and the noxious doctrine of prerogative is burſting out like a torrent; in leſs ſtrains of violence, indeed, becauſe the preſent age has loſt the bigotry of the laſt, but with equally pernicious effects to the conſtitution. We are in a condition very well capable of receiving more than the hints which the Miniſter is daily throwing out, perhaps practical ones, of Stuart principles and Swediſh politics. We may find to our coſt, "*that the*

" *king of England is not a king of Mahrattas.*" Inſtead of civilly telling the king, " *We are infinite-*
" *ly obliged to you, ſir, for all the benefits which*
" *we have received from you and your family.—We*
" *have the moſt laſting and grateful ſenſe of them, but*
" *we have no more occaſion for you, we can do with-*
" *out you, and wiſh you a good voyage to Hanover,*"
we may be told, there is no occaſion for us or our repreſentatives. So many *Votes* may be pronounced in the Houſe of Lords, as to amount at laſt to a civil diſmiſſion for ſeven years, then to meet and adjourn *ſine die.*

The ſacrifice of perſonal conſiderations to the wiſhes of the people are expreſſions of great clearneſs and perſpicuity to thoſe who are not wilfully blind. The repreſentatives of the people have *preſumed* to addreſs the Crown, not to carry on the offenſive war with America. The parliament has *preſumed* to paſs an act to enable the king to make peace with America. They are to be puniſhed for their *preſumption*, and are made reſponſible " *for*
" *all the evils which might reſult from the diſmember-*
" *ment of the Empire.*" The Miniſter is attempting to ſet the people at variance with their repreſentatives, that the Crown may come forward to act its part in the play, and conclude the plot by the deſtruction of both. If ſo much evil is to be apprehended,

prehended, why did not the Miniſter reſort to the eaſy expedient of conſulting once more the parliament of Great Britain, in an affair of ſo much importance?—Becauſe the Miniſter, who is always full of under-plots in the ſame play, would have riſqued his hopes of reviving the American war, which he is bound to perform, and is playing his part to provoke. He has great help in carrying on his game. The Duke of Richmond, who left on the table of the Houſe of Lords, four years ago, a bill for granting independence to America—General Conway, who headed the glorious band of patriots that put an end to the ruinous offenſive American war, now ſubſcribe to his leſſons with great facility. Theſe gentlemen make no ſcruple in retaliating the honeſt endeavours of their friends, by throwing on their ſhoulders, the burden of the evils which the diſmemberment of the Empire may produce.

The Miniſter prays fervently to God, that "*we* "*may not feel the evils of the diſmemberment of the* "*Empire.*" It would become him more to pray to God to forgive us our continued hypocriſy, in calling upon his ſacred name. "You ſanctified a faſt, you "called a ſolemn aſſembly, you gathered the elders "and all the inhabitants of the land into the houſe "of the Lord your God, and cried unto the Lord "againſt the violence, the injuſtice, and tyranny

" of thoſe daring rebels, who aſſumed to themſelves " the exerciſe of power over the people of the colo- " nies. You called upon his holy name to open the " eyes of thoſe who had been deluded, to turn the " hearts of the authors of our calamities; and finally, " to reſtore the people of America to the happy con- " dition of being free ſubjects of a free ſtate." The juſtice of the God of Heaven has been exerciſed upon us. He has ſeen, and he has puniſhed, *our* violence, *our* injuſtice, and *our* tyranny. He has opened *our* eyes, who have been deluded; he has turned *our* hearts; and finally, he has reſtored the people of America to the happy condition of being free ſubjects of a free ſtate. May we be true penitents in the ſight of God, and pray *ſincerely* to him to make the American Republics happy and flouriſhing! " *Religion, language, intereſt, and af-* " *fection,*" may " *yet prove a permanent union between* " *the two countries*;" but whilſt neither *attention* or *diſpoſition* has any part in the conduct of the Miniſter, there appears to be little proſpect of a cultivation of theſe excellent grounds of peace and union. Independence is *offered*, not freely and unconditionally granted;—it is declared to be within the power of revocation, therefore not ſincerely meant to be given. God Almighty, who knows the ſecrets of all hearts, will ſeverely judge us for our hypocriſy.

" *To pray earneſtly to God, that America may be free* " *from thoſe calamities which have formerly proved* " *in the Mother Country, how eſſential monarchy is to* " *the enjoyment of conſtitutional liberty*;" when we know this affected earneſtneſs clokes the wicked deſign of irritating the paſſions of both people, does it promiſe to be the means of reconciling the American Republics to this country? For the ſake of humanity—for the ſake of all that is dear to us, let us hope, that ſo diabolical a ſcheme will not ſucceed. Though monarchy is eſſential to this country, ſuch a ſentiment can be conſidered only as an inſult to America, which has taſted enough of its bitters, not to rejoice at being ſet free from the ſhackles of royalty.

THE inexplicable confuſion which is deſignedly thrown upon this part of the Miniſter's declaration, exactly agrees with the explanation he has given of this OFFER of independence to America, and of the Proviſional Articles which have been ſigned with the Commiſſioners of the United States. The whole of the negotiations appear to be a deluſion; or, as the Secretary of State very happily expreſſed it, the Earl of Shelburne's ſuppoſed duplicity, by being the means of retarding, and ultimately putting an end to them, will produce the effect of his wiſhes, which leads him to counteract in private, the attempts

tempts he is obliged to make in public, to procure peace. There are many reaſons which induce us to believe, that he poſitively engaged with the Court, at the time he was ſent for in March laſt, to prevent the acknowledgement of the independence of America. At the commencement of the late Adminiſtration, when the meaſures to be purſued had been recently agreed upon, he made no heſitation to join in them. He tranſmitted the Reſolution reſpecting the independence of America to the Commiſſioners at New-York, and agreed to all the meaſures with which Mr. Grenville was charged at Paris. Thoſe who knew him, and of courſe diſtruſted him, notwithſtanding all theſe conceſſions, often declared their ſuſpicions to ſome of the other Miniſters. But they were anſwered, and with ſome warmth, that there was no difference of ſentiment in the Cabinet reſpecting the independence of America, and that the Earl of Shelburne did not make the leaſt oppoſition to it.

I MUST digreſs here for a moment to compare the preſent difference of ſentiment in the Cabinet, with the time, in which Mr. Fox, from the repeated proofs of the Miniſter's duplicity (notwithſtanding all the former ſtrong aſſurances which were given of his acquieſcence in the independence of America) found himſelf obliged to quit a Cabinet, in which

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he felt the ground ſo rotten and uncertain, that he was ſinking at every ſtep. When the good Marquis of Rockingham died, and the Earl of Shelburne ſucceeded him, his firſt ſpeech was to combat the independency of America. How the Miniſters in the Houſe of Commons can flatter themſelves, that they may place a dependence upon his conſtruction of the eventual treaty with America, is a matter only to be explained by themſelves. They are accountable for the deception to the Houſe of Commons, ſince they have taken upon themſelves to give credit to a man, in whom no confidence can, or ought to be placed. He has already laid ſufficient ground for variety of opinion, and has peculiar art in ſhifting it, whenever he finds occaſion, making uſe of the boldeſt aſſertions, whether true or falſe, to ſupport any argument he thinks proper to aſſume. The Miniſters in the Houſe of Commons, who have taken (and I will do them the juſtice to ſay, I believe it is fairly taken) a decided part, except they forfeit whatever character they have left, will have no reſource but in reſignation. They are pledged as hoſtages to the Houſe of Commons. But they have yet much heavier crimes to anſwer for. When God was pleaſed to take the Marquis of Rockingham to himſelf, removing him from a vexatious conteſt with the preſent Miniſter,

to a place " where the wicked ceaſe from trou-
" bling, and the weary ſoul finds reſt;" their conduct in ſupporting the Earl of Shelburne (who had, by his oppoſition to the patriotic views of their great and noble friend, ſhortened his valuable life) defeated the faireſt hopes of the nation, and prevented the ſettlement of our public affairs upon a ſafe and honourable foundation. If that determination aroſe from weakneſs, the nation may forgive, tho' they can never forget it. Their greateſt difficulty will be to forgive themſelves. When the effect, of which their conduct has been the cauſe, operates in the humiliating puniſhment of being reduced to ſeek ſhelter from the incenſed eye of the public, they will find leiſure for repentance. The Earl of Shelburne will abandon them. He will diſavow all declarations. If they ſhelter themſelves under their conſtruction of the Proviſional Treaty, the Miniſter, by the explanation which he has given of its being revocable, has already occupied the ground, and given them warning they are not to truſt him.

The Speech ſupports his opinion, notwithſtanding the jargon of words in which that part of it is given, evidently meant to miſlead. The Miniſter prays, " *That this country may not feel the evils*

" *which*

" *which* MIGHT *ariſe from the diſmemberment of the* " *Empire*;" and to corroborate this expreſſion, independence is *offered*, not granted to America. In fact, whatever conſtructions the Miniſters in the Houſe of Commons have put upon this eventual treaty, we are exactly in *ſtatu quo*, notwithſtanding the very plain letter of the Secretary of State to the Lord Mayor of London—notwithſtanding a very plain letter of the ſame Secretary of State to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which that nobleman interpreted, in a letter to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, as the concluſion of peace with America. Theſe letters ought not to be overlooked. They are choice rarities worth preſervation. " *In order to prevent ſpe-* " *culation in the funds*," (ſays the Right Honourable Secretary, and that inſtant the ſpeculation began) " *his Majeſty's Miniſters communicate for the informa-* " *tion of the public, that the negotiations* for peace, " ALWAYS CARRYING ON AT PARIS, WERE BROUGHT " SO FAR TO A POINT, AS TO PROMISE A DECISIVE " DECLARATION FOR PEACE OR WAR, BEFORE THE " MEETING OF PARLIAMENT ON THE FIFTH OF " DECEMBER."

THE 5th of December nearly arrives, and the Right Hon. Secretary informs the Lord Mayor, that " *proviſional articles had been ſigned by his Ma-*

" *jeſty's Miniſters, and the Commiſſioners of* THE " UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA, TO BE IN- " SERTED IN, AND CONSTITUTE A TREATY OF " PEACE, WHICH IS TO BE CONCLUDED WHEN TERMS " OF PEACE SHALL BE AGREED UPON BETWEEN " GREAT-BRITAIN AND FRANCE." I ſhall here interrupt the ſubject by declaring, that I mean no reflection on the Right Honourable Secretary in ſaying, his letter produced an inſtant ſpeculation in the funds. I believe him incapable of ſuch a deſign; but at the ſame time I believe, that a man of ſomewhat more depth foreſaw, and profited by it.

SUCH are the letters of the Secretary of State! and in their places, both himſelf who wrote them, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Commander in Chief, the three Cabinet Miniſters in the Houſe of Commons, declare, in expreſs contradiction to the Prime Miniſter, that the independence granted to America, whether the preſent negotiations with France ſucceed or not, is irrevocable, and that the proviſionary articles muſt be inſerted in and conſtitute a treaty, whenever a peace is made with France.

THE Miniſter declares in his place, that ſhould the PRESENT negotiation for peace be without effect,

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the proviſional articles fall to the ground, and the acknowledgement of the independence of America is that inſtant revoked; and that his ſentiments are preciſely the ſame, as when he proteſted ſo violently againſt granting the independence of America, in June or July laſt.

The Duke of Richmond declares his ſurprize at this explanation of the three Cabinet Miniſters in the Houſe of Commons; ſupports the opinion of his friend and colleague the Earl of Shelburne; but yet declares his full approbation of the unconditional independence of America.

The ſame Duke of Richmond proteſts in the moſt ſolemn manner, that there is no difference of ſentiment amongſt his Majeſty's Miniſters, and that the moſt perfect unanimity ſubſiſts amongſt them.

These are facts. The public are to form their judgment of them. Is it not melancholy for that public, in their preſent dreadful ſituation, to behold ſuch miſerable ſubterfuges? A Miniſter uſing aſſeverations at one time, contradicting them at another; refuſing to anſwer a queſtion of information* (and that queſtion of the higheſt importance to

* The judicious queſtions put by Lord Fitzwilliam to the Miniſter on the 13th of December, in the Houſe of Lords.

be explained,) which he had given voluntarily the week before; ſheltering himſelf under the hypocriſy of an oath, which if it was a crime, he had not only committed himſelf, but the Duke of Richmond and his colleagues in the Houſe of Commons had been equally guilty of; thoſe very colleagues declaring their opinions openly and with manlineſs on one day, ſullenly refuſing all explanation on another:—in ſhort, ſuch a jumble of mean, unmanly, heterogeneous opinions, and tricks upon the public, as will ſcarcely find a parallel in any age or nation.

"*Whilſt I have carefully abſtained from all offenſive* "*operations againſt America, I have directed the whole* "*national force by land and ſea, againſt the other pow-* "*ers at war, with as much vigour as the ſituation of* "*that force at the commencement of the campaign* "*would permit. I truſt, that the nation feels the* "*advantages reſulting from the ſafety of the great* "*branches of its trade. They muſt have ſeen with* "*pride and ſatisfaction, the gallant defence of the Go-* "*vernor and garriſon of Gibraltar, and the fleet, after* "*having effected the object of their deſtination, offer-* "*ing battle to the combined force of France and Spain* "*on their own coaſts: thoſe of theſe kingdoms have* "*remained at the ſame time perfectly ſecure and un-*

"*inter-*

" interrupted. This reſpectable ſtate I attribute to the " entire CONFIDENCE *which ſubſiſts between me and " the people, and to the readineſs which has been ſhewn " by the City of London, and other parts of the king- " dom, to ſtand forth in the general defence. Some " proofs have been lately given of public ſpirit in pri- " vate men, which would do honour to any age and any " country.*

" Having manifeſted to the whole world, by the moſt " laſting examples, the ſignal ſpirit and bravery of the " people, I conceived it a moment not unbecoming their dig- " nity, and thought it a regard due to the lives and for- " tunes of ſuch brave and gallant men, to ſhew myſelf " ready to embrace fair and honourable terms of accom- " modation with all the powers at war.

" Negotiations to this effect are conſiderably advanced, " the reſult of which, as ſoon as they are brought to " a concluſion, ſhall be immediately communicated."

THE Miniſter aſſumes merit to himſelf, as he does from every other part of Lord Rockingham's Adminiſtration, for the ſalutary meaſures which they planned, or carried into execution. The carefully abſtaining from offenſive war in America, the entire direction of the whole force of the country,

try, are all ſhrouded under his ſpreading wings. All theſe efforts were made under the late Adminiſtration. Thoſe by ſea were made by Lord Keppel, who was, under that Adminiſtration, placed at the head of the Admiralty. He performed his duty, and we feel the advantageous conſequences reſulting from the good conduct of that branch of the Adminiſtration. We acknowledge, with pride and ſatisfaction, the gallant defence of the Governor and the garriſon of Gibraltar, and the ſeaman-like conduct of Lord Howe, in relieving that garriſon, in the face of ſuch ſuperiour force, offering battle to the enemy upon their own coaſts, whilſt thoſe of our own kingdom remained free from interruption. But we attribute no part of this reſpectable ſtate to the CONFIDENCE between the Miniſter and the people;—for we can place no confidence in the Earl of Shelburne. We attribute this reſpectable ſtate to the confidence which ſubſiſts between Lord Keppel and the navy. Confidence amongſt profeſſional men ſupplies a great vacancy of ſhips and men. To the great and vigorous exertions of Lord Keppel, upon the able foundations which were laid by the Adminiſtration of Lord Rockingham, do we owe the reſpectable ſtate of the navy of England; and conſequently the comparative reſpectable ſtate of England, with that of former years.—

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Confidence between the Miniſter and the people!—There is not a mechanic in the nation that does not laugh at the idea of placing confidence in the Earl of Shelburne.

The Miniſter ſays, "*the City of London* "*has ſhewn a readineſs to ſupport him in his plans* "*of general defence.*" There is one way of underſtanding the Miniſter, and in general thoſe who have any connexion with him, find it the eaſieſt method of learning his ſentiments. Take exactly the reverſe of what he ſays. You have an inſtance in this very aſſertion reſpecting the City of London. That great Corporation has moſt honourably ſupported its character. The Members of it have rejected the *ſhip-money* ſcheme, and condemned it to the ſame fate as the equally abſurd and viſionary plans of Jacob Henriques. The Houſe of Commons is the beſt manager of our purſes, and of our defence; and if they find us deficient in ſhips, the Admiralty are the beſt judges where and how to procure them. It is a ſhame for a great ſtate to go about, begging of individuals. Inſtead of public ſpirit, it is public ſhame. It was a ſenſe of dignity that put an end to the idle, though well-meant propoſal of the county of Suffolk; ("*the propoſal that* "*would do honour to any age or country*) when after the greateſt poſſible efforts, after promiſing that no money ſhould be laid out till twelve counties had deter-

determined on the meaſure, they could not complete their own ſubſcription. I ſhall make no comment on the illegality: I ſubmit that to the learned and great friend of the Miniſter, Lord Aſhburton, a Cabinet Miniſter, who ſo ably combated the doctrine of ſubſcriptions in the Houſe of Commons, as did the Duke of Richmond, another Cabinet Miniſter, in the Lords.

The regard to the lives and fortunes of brave and gallant men, was ſurely very ill ſhewn, and ill-becoming the dignity of the nation, when the ſurrender of the important fortreſs of Gibraltar, the gallant defence of whoſe Governor and garriſon we had ſeen "with ſo much pride and ſatisfaction," was to become the price. The ſpirit of the Houſe of Commons was rouſed by the daſtardly idea which was thrown out on the firſt day of the Seſſion, and has been the means, under God, of a ſecond time preſerving that jewel in the Britiſh Crown. Did the Miniſter conſider, that we have already loſt a moſt valuable part of our Empire, a part from which we derived a very great proportion of our maritime ſtrength, and that in giving up Gibraltar, we give up our only remaining pretenſions to be a great naval power. We have already nearly loſt our title to the dominion of the ſea; and whilſt the

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naval conduct of this year has made us lift up our dejected heads, Gibraltar, the ſcene of our new-born hopes, is threatened to be torn from us. Gibraltar is the key of the Mediterranean. Without the poſſeſſion of that fortreſs, the trade of the Levant is wholly loſt in time of war, and is very precarious in time of peace. The preſent government of France, which is very favourable to their trading ſyſtem, and affords every encouragement to their native ſtrength and riches, will, by the poſſeſſion of that valuable commerce, render the manufacturers of that country dangerous rivals to us in thoſe branches, which we have hitherto had no equals in. The diminution of Empire, which we have already ſuffered, muſt deprive us of a large part; the loſs of the Mediterranean would go nearly to the deprivation of the better part of what is left to us. In time of war, Gibraltar is of the firſt conſequence to our maritime operations. It ſeparates France from France, and Spain from Spain, wholly preventing the intercourſe between the great naval ports of each nation. In all former wars, we preſerved our naval aſcendency by keeping a ſtationary fleet at Gibraltar, which ſecured the poſſeſſion of the Straits and the Mediterranean ſea.—Had Admiral Byron been employed in this manner at the breaking out of the war with France, the

Count d'Eſtaing could not have paſſed the Straits; but the coolneſs of Lord George Germain would only ſuffer the Admiral to follow, not to prevent the motions of the French. If the deſign of this excellent manœuvre was to habituate the people to think Gibraltar of no uſe, it was an admirable one. But the annals of this country prove its importance, and the futility of ſuch attempts. The names of Eliot, Boyd, and the garriſon of Gibraltar, the employment they have given the forces of Spain ſo many years, the full proof we now have of its being impregnable, ſets its value to us, as a maritime power, above all price.

" *I Have every reaſon to hope and believe, that I* " *ſhall have it in my power to acquaint the people,* " *that they have ended in terms of pacification, which* " *I truſt you will ſee juſt cauſe to approve. I rely,* " *however, with perfect confidence. on the wiſdom of* " *parliament and the ſpirit of the people, that, if any* " *unforeſeen change in the diſpoſitions of the Belligerent* " *Powers ſhould fruſtrate my confident expectations,* " *they will approve of the preparations I have* " *thought it adviſeable to make, and be ready to ſecond* " *the moſt vigorous efforts in the further proſecution* " *of the war.*"

The negotiations which were promiſed to be brought ſo far to a point as to prove a deciſive concluſion

cluſion for peace or war before the meeting of parliament, are yet in the ſame undecided condition: and "*if any unforeſeen change in the diſpo-*"*ſitions of the Belligerent Powers ſhould fruſtrate the*"*Miniſter's* CONFIDENT *expectations of peace,*" the event will prove, that the Miniſter of the Belligerent Power of England will be the real cauſe of our not being at peace. The other Powers have diſpoſitions to peace, though they may have no diſpoſitions to treat with a Miniſter whoſe notoriety of character all over Europe excites ſuſpicion in every thing he ſays, and in every thing he undertakes. The neceſſary caution on their part, and the delay which this caution creates, may be the means of breaking off the negotiation *.

I DO not pretend to ſay, that under the moſt able Adminiſtration, the ſituation of our affairs could have procured us an honourable peace; but they were paſſable enough to have procured us one which would have given us time to breathe, and to recover ourſelves, in a great meaſure, from our loſſes and diſgrace. It is certainly wiſe to guard againſt the miſcarriage of negotiations for peace, by vigorous efforts for the continuance of war.

* The CANDID Miniſter of England begins already to complain of the want of CANDOUR in the Miniſter of France.

In good hands they are the moſt powerful embaſſadors for peace: in bad ones they are only dangerous provocatives for war. In preparing ourſelves however for defence, we ſhould not forget, whilſt we feel the burthen of our preparations, that we owe the continuance and increaſe of them to the Earl of Shelburne.

"*I Have endeavoured, by every meaſure in my "power, to diminiſh the burthens of the people. I "loſt no time in taking the moſt decided meaſures for "introducing a better œconomy into the expenditure of "the army.*

"*I Have carried into ſtrict execution the ſeveral "reductions in the Civil Liſt expences, directed by an "act of the laſt ſeſſions. I have introduced a further "reform into other departments, and ſuppreſſed ſeveral "ſinecure places in them. I have by this means ſo "regulated the eſtabliſhments, that the expence will not "in future exceed the income.*

"*I Have ordered the eſtimate of the Civil Liſt, laid "before the Houſe laſt ſeſſion, to be compleated. The "debt proving ſomewhat greater than could be then "correctly ſtated, and the propoſed reduction not im-"mediately taking place, I truſt that the deficiency will "be provided for, ſecuring, as before, the repayment "out of the annual income.*"

Too

Too much cannot be ſaid in praiſe of the motives which have cauſed theſe exertions to be made. To eaſe the burthens which lay heavy on the public, to correct the groſs miſmanagement in the expenditure of the public money, are efforts worthy the greateſt and beſt of Miniſters. But when theſe reformations affect the honourable retirement of men who have long and ably ſerved the ſtate; when they affect the employments of thoſe who earn their money by hard and continual labour; when they take away the ſcanty pittance of a few poor and miſerable wretches, whoſe families muſt be turn'd adrift upon the world, it is no longer reformation. Should a poor old man, who has loſt his place, make away with himſelf in deſpair, it is inhumanity—it is cruelty. If a few pounds have been taken away from a miſerable forty or fifty pounds a-year, it is mean and wretched avarice. Such inſtances as thoſe I allude to, have already happened, and others of a ſimilar kind are to take place. It is the practice of the Miniſter to arrogate to himſelf the merits of another; and he would, from the ſame principle, make no ſcruple of committing injuſtice himſelf, could he throw the odium of it upon thoſe he hates, that is, upon all honeſt men. This great plan of reform proceeded from Mr. Burke; but equity and mercy filled every

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page of it. He waged no war with the poor people who held ſmall, though uſeleſs and ſinecure places, and whoſe maintenance depended upon their poſſeſſion. He made juſt * compenſation for all; for thoſe whom the Miniſter has caſt upon the world, and called it the act of Mr. Burke, hypocritically lamenting their fate, and promiſing relief to them, as his own immediate act. Mr. Burke's plan was oeconomy, but, wherever juſtice or humanity was in queſtion, the ſavings were to be made gradually from the falling-in of the lives of the poſſeſſors. His oeconomy was not inconſiſtent with the gran-

* And whereas, upon aboliſhing the ſeveral offices ſuppreſſed by this Act, ſundry perſons, who may have held their offices by patent for life, or may have legally, or, according to the courſe of office, purchaſed the ſame for a valuable conſideration, and may ſuffer hardſhip by the ſuppreſſion thereof: And whereas others, though not within the ſame deſcription, who have diligently and faithfully executed their ſeveral ſubordinate offices for his Majeſty's ſervice, and by ſuch ſuppreſſion will be reduced to diſtreſsful or indigent circumſtances: Be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury may, and they are hereby impowered to allow to every perſon ſeverally who holds his office by patent for life, or who has purchaſed his place in the manner before mentioned, an annuity equal to the legal emoluments of his ſaid office; and alſo to allow to other perſons in the ſubordinate offices aforeſaid, upon examination into the circumſtances and behaviour of the ſaid perſons, ſuch annuities ſeverally as the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury ſhall think equitable and juſt, for the ſupport and maintenance of ſuch perſon or perſons, until he or they ſhall be provided for in his Majeſty's ſervice, according to his or their abilities and merit.

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deur of the State of England. His desire was to reduce the undue influence, not to curb the magnificence of the Crown, whose fallen Majesty he looked upon with grief. In abolishing the useless places which were held during pleasure by Members of Parliament, he destroyed the influence of fifty Members in both Houses; but he touched none that affected whatever was left of the splendour of royalty. In all sinecure places independent of immediate influence, he left the Crown the power which it ought to enjoy, the rewarding of merit; reducing only those places where the enormity of the profits called for reduction. His plan was to make such places honourable rewards for those who had spent their best days in the service of their country. When he limited the Crown in the granting of pensions, he left it a sufficient and liberal power of reward. His plan for the payment of the different parts of the Civil List is most admirably contrived to keep entire the new system of preventing undue influence, preserving oeconomy, and maintaining it in the most exact order. If we examine with attention the plan of reform which Mr. Burke brought into the House, we shall find it comprehensive, just, and humane. Comprehensive of reform, as it includes almost every

part

part of Government, the Cuſtom-houſe excepted, which he appears, by his ſpeech, to have intended for a future work. Juſt, as it deprived only thoſe of their places, who held them during pleaſure, removeable with every change in the Adminiſtration, and holding them merely under the influence of the Crown. Humane, as it deprived no one of his place without full compenſation made to him during his life, or for the value of it, if the place was purchaſed. The plan was conceived in wiſdom, delivered with temper, reared with prudence, equally devoid of prodigality and avarice. If this ſenſible and manly child had been entruſted wholly in his hands, he would have given it the ſenſe and figure of perfect man.

I HAVE dwelt thus long upon the ſubject, becauſe the Miniſter is endeavouring to deprive this great and excellent perſon of his juſt pretenſions to the reform in the expenditure of the public money, and the preventing the undue influence of the Crown in Parliament. But the poor jay will be diſcovered, notwithſtanding his borrowed plumes. From the hackneyed proſtitution of the Miniſter, every low and mean evaſion is to be expected. From the chaſtity of youth the ſupport of ſuch conduct is not common.

NOR

Nor has the Miniſter a better claim to the oeconomy introduced into the expenditure of the army. This was ably inveſtigated by the Commiſſioners of Accounts, and great abuſes are now rectifying by the active profeſſional merit of one of thoſe Commiſſioners, General Carleton, at New-York.

But the Civil Liſt yet remains in debt, and money muſt be advanced to diſcharge it. Could not all the wiſdom of this able Miniſter prevent this freſh demand upon the neceſſities of the public? The Treaſury, in his hands, calls for the ſtricteſt and moſt watchful attention. Large penſions have been granted without any appearance of ſervice to deſerve them.

" *I Have made enquiry into the application of the*
" *ſum voted in ſupport of the American ſufferers,*
" *and I truſt that you will agree, that a due and*
" *generous attention ought to be ſhewn to thoſe, who*
" *have relinquiſhed their properties or profeſſions from*
" *loyalty to me, or attachment to the Mother Coun-*
" *try.*"

Tho' the nation will perfectly agree with the Miniſter in ſhewing a due and generous attention to deſerving and unhappy ſufferers, they will

not bear impoſition.—They will not in the midſt of their own ſevere ſufferings, endure the hardſhip of ſupporting thoſe who were one great cauſe of their preſent diſtreſs. Many of the Refugees, who have relinquiſhed their properties or profeſſions, were the Demagogues who fed the flame, who encouraged the reſiſtance which ſeparated America from Great Britain. The ſame diſpoſition which made them parricides to this country, made them parricides to their own, when they ſuppoſed it to be ruined and undone. They had no other principle in exciting reſiſtance, than the hopes of ſharing in the plunder which the confuſion of ſuch times muſt produce. When theſe were put an end to by the great progreſs of the Britiſh arms, they fled in ſhoals to New-York, full of the ſame inſatiate hopes and expectations. In their own country they ſought the prey of thoſe who were attached to Great Britain: in New-York they ſought the blood and ſpoils of their American fellow-citizens, with whom they had joined in reſiſtance. Their principles continued the ſame, though the objects of their luſt were changed. It was no loyalty to the Prince, it was no attachment to the Mother Country, (a ſeparation of intereſts which ſince the Revolution has not been known) that made them

them relinquiſh their properties and profeſſions: it was the deſire of enjoying the properties and poſſeſſions of their neighbours which influenced their conduct, when they betrayed and reſiſted Great Britain. It was the ſame motives which influenced their conduct, when they betrayed and reſiſted America. When that country roſe, as it were, from the grave, its injured ſpirit flaſhed confuſion in their face, and blaſted all their hopes. Stung by guilt and diſappointment, they gave looſe to all the fury of contending paſſions, and ſet no bounds to their malicious rage. Even the perſons in command, who unwiſely received, and who conferred unprofitable favours upon them, felt their ſting; for like the adder, they faſtened upon thoſe to whom they owed their food and raiment. To hug traitors to our boſom, is to hug the perſon which is daily preying upon our vitals. They ſhould have been beaten with rods, like the Falerian ſchoolmaſter, and ſent back to their country. We ſhould then have been freed from the dangerous poiſon which they have infuſed into our minds, already too well, and even madly inclined to ſuck it in, inducing us obſtinately to purſue the fatal American war, the ſpring of all our loſſes, and of all our diſgrace. In drawing this picture of ſome of the Refugees, I think

the far greater part of them, I hope I ſhall not be underſtood to throw all into one general maſs. There are ſome, though I fear but few, who have the higheſt claim on the juſtice, the generoſity of this country. Attached equally to the intereſts of both countries, and foreſeeing the approaching troubles, they retired to England, where they have lived in peace and retirement, faithfully adhering to their own principles, without condemning thoſe of their countrymen who have (equally faithfully) taken an oppoſite part. Renouncing their poſſeſſions without murmur or reproach, they truſt quietly for the recompence which their integrity deſerves. If the line is properly drawn between the different Refugees, the conduct of this country will be honourable; if not, it will be covered with diſgrace, and end in diſappointment.

" *As it may be neceſſary to give ſtability to ſome* " *regulations by act of parliament, accounts of the* " *ſeveral eſtabliſhments, incidental expences, fees,* " *and other emoluments of office, ſhall be laid before* " *you. Regulations have already taken place in* " *ſome, which it is my intention to extend to all, and* " *which, beſides expediting all public buſineſs, muſt* " *produce a very conſiderable ſaving, without taking*

" *from*

" *from that ample encouragement, which ought to*
" *be held forth to talents, diligence, and integrity,*
" *wherever they are to be found.*"

WHAT a robber of talents, diligence, and integrity, this Miniſter is! With what facility he ſeizes upon, and cloaths himſelf in their ſpoils! The Commiſſioners of Accounts, Mr. Burke, Sir Philip Clerke, Mr. Crewe, and all the miſerable tribe of Reformers of our days, are but pigmies to this giant, this fat drone, that lives upon the labours of the induſtrious hive.

THE Commiſſioners of Accounts have been long employed in the examination of " *the fees,*
" *incidental expences, and other emoluments of office.*"
They have already diſcovered great abuſes, and pointed out material corrections of them, and are proceeding in this buſineſs with ability and attention. Mr. Burke has carried great part of his plan into execution, and has laid before the Houſe of Commons other great and important branches of neceſſary reform. Thoſe of Sir Philip Clerke and Mr. Crewe have been very ſalutary. Yet this ſpunger upon the public would aſſume all the merit to himſelf. " Mr.
" Burke has not taken from the *encouragement to*
" *be held forth to talents, diligence, and integrity,*
" *wherever*

" *wherever they are to be found.*" He has fixed it in his plan of reform, ſo far as concerns the penſion-liſt, as 90,000 l. a-year. This being the price of the reward, we are led to ſuppoſe that the Miniſter eſtimates the talents, diligence, and integrity of his friends Mr. Dunning and Mr. Barré, to be a twelfth part of all the talents, diligence, and integrity of the whole empire; for he has given them penſions amounting to 7,200 l. a-year. The original author of the reform, Mr. Burke, like many of his ſcheming brethren, are obliged to feed upon the applauſe of the public, whilſt the Miniſter and his friends fatten upon their labours.

" *I Have directed an enquiry to be made into what-*
" *ever regards the landed revenue of the Crown, as*
" *well as the management of the woods and foreſts;*
" *that both may be made as beneficial as poſſible, and*
" *that the latter may furniſh a certain reſource for*
" *ſupplying the navy, our great national bulwark,*
" *with its firſt material.*"

On the 14th of February, 1780, leave was given, on the motion of Mr. Burke, to bring in the three following bills.

First, a bill for the ſale of the foreſt and crown lands.

Se-

SECONDLY, a bill for the more perfectly uniting to the crown, the principality of Wales and the county palatine of Cheſter.

THIRDLY, a bill for uniting to the crown the duchy and county palatine of Lancaſter.

AND on the 5th of July, 1780, a fourth bill, for uniting the duchy of Cornwall to the crown.

ALL theſe bills were *for applying the produce of the lands, &c. to the public ſervice*; and for ſecuring, aſcertaining, and ſatisfying *tenant rights*, and common and other rights: and the ſecond alſo provided for the more commodious adminiſtration of juſtice in Cheſter and Wales.

HIS attempts during that ſeſſion were without ſucceſs. He has now again given notice of his intention to bring in thoſe bills. Mr. Dunning, who was formerly ſo ſtrongly of opinion, that the influence of the Crown has increaſed, is increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed, will, in his new capacity of Lord Aſhburton, have an opportunity of ſhewing his diſintereſtedneſs, by granting them his ſupport in the Houſe of Peers, and reſigning the ſinecure place he poſſeſſes of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, at the ſalary of 4000l. a-year, and conſole himſelf with his penſion.

THESE

THESE bills, Mr. Burke tells us (in the admirable ſpeech he made upon the occaſion) ſo far as relates to the influence of the Crown in Parliament from theſe ſubordinate juriſdictions, go to the radical cure of the evil. They aboliſh all places that are uſeleſs and chargeable, but with compenſation to thoſe who hold them for life, and where humanity directs the application. All unprofitable eſtates to be ſold, and the tenant rights turned into a fee, upon ſuch reaſonable and moderate terms as muſt prove ſatisfactory to every tenant. The crown lands, the revenue of which is now at the diſpoſal of Parliament, to be ſold. The foreſt lands to be valued in the manner of manerial rights in an encloſure, the land given for them to be ſold, the timber to be firſt ſurveyed, and ſuch parts encloſed "*as will furniſh a certain reſource* "*for ſupplying the navy, our great national bulwark,*" the reſt diſpoſed of, and the commons to be allotted, and compenſated for, nearly in the manner of private encloſures.

THIS is action, not profeſſion. The Miniſter only tells you that he will make enquiry. Mr. Burke has made enquiry already, is maſter of his ſubject, and ready to carry it into execution, whilſt the Miniſter and his ſubordinate Treaſuries, for he has them of all kinds, whether for reform

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of Civil Liſt, American claims, enquiry into the landed revenue, or management of woods and foreſts, are itinerant judges ſtalking through the bedchambers and kitchens of the royal palaces; ſurveying the foreſts of America, and the woods, foreſts, rents, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of Great Britain; ſearching the greaſy pots of the cooks and ſcullions; ſounding an alarm in the ears of the grooms and bed-chamber women, and ſending the poor maids of honour ſupperleſs to bed.

" *I Have directed an inveſtigation into the depart-*
" *ment of the Mint, that the purity of the coin, of ſo*
" *much importance to commerce, may be always ad-*
" *hered to; that by rendering the difficulty of counter-*
" *feiting greater, the lives of numbers may be ſaved,*
" *and every needleſs expence in it ſuppreſſed.*"

The poor Miniſter can hardly take a ſtep in reformation, but he ſtumbles upon this troubleſome man Mr. Burke, who has, in his original bill, fixed the Mint upon its proper ground of manufacture, to be executed by contract upon ſecurities given, and regulations made, proportionate to its object. This ſaves at once all needleſs expence, and would have a much greater effect, by preventing the crime of counterfeiting the coin, than the great increaſe of our ſanguinary

penal laws, the number of which is a diſgrace to humanity, can in any ſhape by increaſe of puniſhment. Experience, for ſcarcely a ſeſſion paſſes without an execution for this crime, ſhews how unequal they are to the taſk.

" *I Muſt recommend to you an immediate attention* " *to the great objects of the public receipts and expen-* " *diture; and above all, to the ſtate of the public debt.* " *Notwithſtanding the great increaſe of it during the* " *war, it is to be hoped that ſuch regulations may ſtill* " *be eſtabliſhed—ſuch ſavings made—and future loans* " *ſo conducted, as to promote the means of its gra-* " *dual redemption, by a fixed courſe of payment.*"

I REMEMBER a little pamphlet publiſhed many years ago, upon the occaſion of an election for the city of London, written by a very ingenious, unfortunate man, in which the characters of the candidates are very humorouſly deſcribed. Speaking of a late eminent alderman, (I am afraid my recollection will not do the author juſtice) he ſays, " Pre- " ceded by marrow-bones and cleavers, by the " noiſe of brazen trumpets, by the ſounding of " cow-horns, and every other inſtrument emble- " matical of noiſe, emptineſs, and contempt, Will. " Hurricane comes riding in upon an empty pun- " cheon." Subſtitute the Earl of Shelburne for Will.

Will. Hurricane, and change the roughneſs of the one into the ſoft ſmiles of the other, and you have the Miniſter riding his great horſe into the public view. He appears before you in a vaſt ſmoke of profeſſions, and when the cloud which ſurrounds him begins to diſappear, the Earl of Shelburne is diſappeared alſo. To make promiſes is, with the Miniſter, the work of a moment; but to ſubſtantiate thoſe promiſes in the midſt of an expenſive war, is a work beyond the ability of the Earl of Shelburne. So far as it can be done with diſcretion, the Commiſſioners of Accounts will carry their examination of the public receipts and expenditure. So far as reform can with propriety be effected, Mr. Burke ſtands ready in the Houſe of Commons. But the very idea of his attempting to carry theſe fine words of the Miniſter into action, frightens the Adminiſtration. His merely and humbly requeſting their ſupport, makes the Miniſters ſtart. They are angry. Why ſhould the Honourable Member be ſo preſſing? His Majeſty's Miniſters were inveſtigating this important buſineſs, and *in time*, the Houſe would reap the benefit of their laborious reſearches. Why is the Honourable Member ſo preſſing? — Becauſe he chuſes to drag the Earl of Shelburne's profeſſions into open day.

" *I Muſt, with particular earneſtneſs, diſtinguiſh* " *for your ſerious conſideration, that part of the* " *debt which conſiſts of navy, ordnance, and vic-* " *tualling bills: the enormous diſcount upon ſome* " *of theſe bills ſhews this mode of payment to be a* " *moſt ruinous expedient.*"

THIS mode of payment certainly ought to be altered, if it were merely, that it is a ridiculous one. The tradeſmen on their parts complain heavily of its injuſtice. It ſhould ſeem, therefore, that Government profited by their misfortune. I ſhould however, was I to give an opinion, ſuppoſe, that neither party ſuſtained any material injury; for as theſe bills will always find a price at market, the merchant, when he makes his eſtimate, calculates the loſs he ſhall ſuſtain by the credit he gives, and by the diſcount of the bills he receives. However, the complexity of the mode, which of itſelf leaves room for errors and frauds, is ſufficient to condemn it, and to adopt a more ſimple one in its ſtead.

" *I Have orderd the ſeveral eſtimates, made up as* " *correctly as the preſent practice would admit, to be* " *laid before you. I hope that ſuch corrections, as may* " *be neceſſary, will be made before the next year.* " *It is my deſire, that you ſhould be apprized of every*

" *ex-*

" *expence before it is incurred, as far as the nature*
" *of each ſervice can poſſibly admit.—Matters of*
" *account cannot be made too public.*"

THE intuitive knowledge, the ſuperior talents of this great and renowned Miniſter, are ſurely equal to the correction of the preſent practice of making up the eſtimates. A man of his genius and induſtry, riſing up early, and lying down late, to wait the dull and languid progreſs of a year's delay! It is his modeſty and diffidence that makes him uſe this language. We ſhall ſee him break forth in all the brightneſs of a fine ſpeech full of profeſſions, and then we ſhall ſee him no more.

THE Houſe of Commons, whoſe duty it is to take care that the public money is not unprofitably ſpent, will ſuffer no accounts to be produced that are not clear and diſtinct. They would be faithleſs ſtewards indeed, were they negligent at this time, when ſome of the Cabinet Miniſters themſelves (once the friends of the good Lord Rockingham) thought it neceſſary to declare, that whilſt they continued in Adminiſtration under the Earl of Shelburne, they would carefully watch all his actions. This implies very ſtrong ſuſpicions even from his colleagues. The

Duke

Duke of Richmond has been called the People's Watchman in the Cabinet. Strange times, which make honeſt men think it neceſſary to mingle with thieves, in order to prevent their making depredations on the public! We have heard of rogues improving their morals by keeping good company; but ſeldom of honeſt men eſcaping ſafe from the ſociety of rogues. "Evil communication corrupts good manners," is an adage as old as the creation; and I am afraid theſe good men will hardly eſcape from their companion without ſome loſs of reputation.

The French have a proverb, *Qui s'excuſe l'accuſe.* I know of no occaſion more apropos than the preſent, and no perſon to whom it applies better, than the Miniſter. He has ſaid ſo much of his deſire "*to apprize us of every expence before it is* "*incurred,*" that it makes me ſuſpect, there is ſome tub preparing to be thrown out to amuſe us, to take off our attention from him. We have one piece of knowledge, however, which will always be of uſe, and prove as good a Watchman as any Duke of Richmond. The Earl of Shelburne is at the head of his Majeſty's Treaſury—all the public monies go through his hands—he has been very liberal already of large penſions, rewards, or by whatever name they may be called—

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he is very laviſh of promiſes to grant more—ſo long therefore as the Earl of Shelburne has the management of the public receipts and expenditure, "*matters of account cannot be made too public.*"

"*The ſcarcity and conſequent high price of corn* "*requires inſtant interpoſition.*"

A Recommendation highly proper, and deſerving the moſt prudent and ſerious attention. For ſuch is the preſent ſtate of the poor, from the decay of our manufactures, that, without ſome ſpeedy and effectual relief, it will require a pretty large body of troops, this winter, to enable the good people of England to ſtarve peaceably to death.

"*The great exceſs to which the crimes of theft* "*and robbery, in many inſtances accompanied with* "*perſonal violence, particularly in the neighbourhood* "*of this metropolis, has called of late for a ſtrict* "*and ſevere execution of the laws. It were much to* "*be wiſhed, that theſe crimes could be prevented in* "*their infancy, by correcting the vices become pre-* "*valent in a moſt alarming degree.*"

THE laws are good, but the execution of them is in bad hands. I confine myſelf to the County of Middleſex; the good order of the City demonſtrating, that theſe diſorders do not ariſe from the inefficacy of the laws, but for the want of able and upright men at the head of the Police. If Juſtices cannot be found, without being paid for their trouble (and it is really a laborious work they undertake), it is the intereſt of the public to make choice of men who ſhould be fully at their eaſe. The qualities neceſſary in theſe Magiſtrates, are ability, integrity, and independence of the Crown. They ought to hold their Magiſtracy *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint.* A good police would have a better effect, than ſuch a great increaſe of the penal laws. The Miniſter gives us a great many good words; but there they end, as indeed they generally do with him. He pays us with his notes of hand, but we never receive any current coin.

" *The liberal principles adopted by you concerning*
" *the rights and the commerce of Ireland, have done*
" *you the higheſt honour, and will, I truſt, encreaſe*
" *that harmony which ought always to ſubſiſt between*
" *the two kingdoms.*"

The ability and liberality with which the meaſures of the Adminiſtration of Lord Rockingham were conducted, not only did him the higheſt honour, but was the means of ſolidly uniting the two kingdoms. But when the death of that excellent nobleman, and the ſeceſſion of his beſt and real friends, had in effect wholly diſſolved that Miniſtry, the minds of the Iriſh began to revolt at the idea of truſting an Adminiſtration under the direction of a Miniſter of ſuch notorious duplicity of character. From that moment, all their jealouſies revived, and the good effects of the Adminiſtration of Lord Rockingham were loſt. The Duke of Portland, by his great and princely virtues, by the dignity of his mind and manners, by his ſteady and manly abilities, had gained the entire confidence of that kingdom. The reſolution which his Grace took, without the ſmalleſt heſitation, the moment he heard of the appointment of the Earl of Shelburne, to leave the adminiſtration of the affairs of Ireland, was a leſſon which taught them caution. They ſaw, that the Duke of Portland could not, and they wiſely concluded that they ought not, to place confidence in the Earl of Shelburne. Want of confidence naturally produces jealouſy and ill-temper. The uneaſineſs of a nation is not eaſily quieted, except the ſource from whence the diſ-

order ſprings, is removed. However laudable Mr. Grattan's conduct may be to ſtem the torrent, it will ſcarcely avail againſt the general ſenſe of the people. We have ſuffered already a great deal from the crooked policy of endeavouring to profit by fomenting diviſions amongſt our ſubjects. We only deceive ourſelves. Duplicity will inevitably overſet itſelf, and involve us deeper in diſtreſs. The people of Ireland naturally look to the Miniſter of this country; and whatever is the leading feature of his adminiſtration, by ſuch will their conduct be influenced. If it is integrity, they will place confidence in his word; if it is duplicity, they will inſiſt upon better ſecurity. The wickedneſs of the Miniſter's inſinuation, that harmony ſubſiſts at this time between the two kingdoms, when he knows that Ireland is in a ſtate of complete jealouſy and diſſatisfaction, will, I dare venture to aſſert, impreſs the ſtrongeſt idea upon the minds of the Iriſh, of the neceſſity of perfect ſecurity. This is one of thoſe expreſſions for which the Miniſter is famous. It is no falſehood. The words are true; but they are deſigned to convey a meaning totally different from the real ſituation of affairs: or, in very plain Engliſh, to tell a lie in the words of truth.

" *I Am perſuaded that a general increaſe of com-*
" *merce throughout the Empire, will prove the wiſdom*
" *of your meaſures with regard to that object. I*
" *would recommend to you a reviſion of our whole*
" *trading ſyſtem upon the ſame comprehenſive prin-*
" *ples, with a view to its utmoſt poſſible extenſion.*"

THE reviſion of our commercial ſyſtem is the only means to reſcue our trade from its preſent ruinous ſtate; perhaps from almoſt total extinction. The loſs of America is a capital revolution in that ſyſtem. The repeal of the Navigation Act muſt of neceſſity take place, and the narrow ſelf-intereſted policy upon which the greateſt part of our trade-laws are founded, be entirely done away. It is a work that cannot be truſted to weak, conceited, or intereſted men. Attention, ability, prudent caution, and a comprehenſive knowledge of our commercial ſyſtem, are indiſpenſibly requiſite to the undertaking of this great work. Theſe qualities are not to be met with in the Earl of Shelburne.

" *The regulation of a vaſt territory in Aſia, opens*
" *a large field for your wiſdom, prudence, and fore-*
" *ſight. I truſt, that you will be able to frame*
" *ſome fundamental laws, which may make their*
" *connection with Great-Britain a bleſſing to In-*

" *dia ; and that you will take therein proper mea-*
" *ſures to give all foreign nations, in matters of fo-*
" *reign commerce, an entire and perfect confidence*
" *in the probity, punctuality, and good order of*
" *our Government. You may be aſſured, that what-*
" *ever depends upon me, ſhall be executed with a*
" *ſteadineſs which can alone preſerve that part of my*
" *dominions, or the commerce which ariſes from it.*"

What an inſult to the ſuffering inhabitants of India! what an inſult to the Commons of this country, is this deluſive recommendation, whilſt, at the ſame moment, the plunderers of Aſia are protected from puniſhment by the Miniſter of Great-Britain! Of what avail has been the wiſdom, the prudence, and the foreſight of the Committees who have made the ſufferings of thirty millions of people the object of their daily labours, while the Miniſter impedes their progreſs, and throws innumerable obſtacles in their way! If we have any hopes to regain the confidence of the Princes of India, (our paſt conduct makes them very languid ones) the Committee which is wholly free from influence (I fear all the members of one are not) muſt be ſuffered to proceed, and the management taken out of hands, whoſe actions continually militate againſt their words. How mild, how

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beneficent, are the profeſſions of the Miniſter! how much the reverſe of the actions of the Protector of the plunderers of Aſia! The enormities theſe, his dependents, have committed, are ſupported by the moſt authentic and inconteſtable proofs, given in evidence before the Committees. The great and ancient Princes of India have been robbed, murdered, and driven from their poſſeſſions. Their ſanctuaries have been violated, their women expoſed to ſhame, lawleſs and daring inſults committed on their perſons, mean and diſgraceful attempts upon their property, their countries have been made a deſart, and their ſubjects driven to ſeek refuge in diſtant ſtates. Our connection with India has been the greateſt curſe that country ever felt.

The terms I uſe, ſtrong as they are, do not go beyond the truth. I appeal to the authentic evidence given in before the Committees of the Houſe of Commons, and the reports which have been made from it. I conjure the people to pay attention to them, and to ſupport honeſt men who tremble at the ſhocking inhumanities practiſed by the Company's ſervants in India. I aſſert, that there is in that country univerſal diſtruſt, deteſtation and horror, at the weakneſs, the wickedneſs, and the violence of our Government.

ment. Government indeed we have none. A lawleſs ſet of men are let looſe to plunder the country. The governors give the example, and not only fleece the poor people themſelves, but encourage and ſet on their blood-hounds to encreaſe their ſpoils. The ſervants of the Eaſt-India Company have laid waſte the country more unmercifully than the moſt mercileſs of the Mahomedan conquerors. Theſe, though they plundered, did not ruin the country. Their avarice did not ſuffer them to loſe ſight of the policy of leaving a ſufficient ſtock to encreaſe, till they could reap another harveſt. But the ſervants of the Company have plundered without any views to poſterity, and leave to their ſucceſſors what alone they are incapable of carrying off. The greater the riches they bring home, the more they have it in their power to purchaſe protection. By theſe means, rich and well-cultivated lands are turned into dreary and inhoſpitable deſerts, marking the progreſs of the licentious ſervants of a Company of Merchants.

Future ages will bluſh at the protection theſe monſters have received. They will with difficulty give credit to the names of thoſe who have been ſharers in their ſpoils, and ſcreened them from the juſtice due to their crimes.

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When time, the faithful monitor who brings the moſt ſecret actions of even the greateſt men before the bar of the public, ſhall make them known, an impartial poſterity will rigorouſly judge, and as rigorouſly condemn them. That miſerable being who is now arraigned for his crimes, has been made to diſgorge the greater part of his ſpoils for a promiſed protection, which may perhaps fail him at laſt. I am not one of thoſe who think the account of his preſent eſtate very fallacious. Tho' we know that an infinitely greater ſum of plunder has been charged upon him from authentic accounts, yet 'tis probable that he paid dear for the protection that appears to be promiſed him. There is no ſatisfaction in merely bringing ſuch a delinquent to puniſhment. It is very unpleaſant to encounter a weeping, and perhaps a deſerving family, who muſt be involved in his diſtreſs, tho' innocent of his crimes. But whilſt we pity theſe ſuffering individuals, let us not ſhut our ears againſt the cries of thouſands of poor wretches, who have endured through the means of ſuch men (for many ſuch there are) the moſt complicated miſeries. The conſciouſneſs of their own guilt would be the ſevereſt puniſhment that could be inflicted. We have ſeen its force already. But it is neceſſary to deter others from their crimes by public example. Many

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muſt be made, before we ſhall be able to recover the confidence of the people of India. We muſt convince them that we are deſirous of acting as becomes good ſovereigns, not as lawleſs tyrants; forming wiſe and beneficent laws, ſuited to the genius and the temper of the inhabitants, and ſuffering them to enjoy practically their good effects, before we can receive from them the proofs we ſeem to expect, of their truſting to "*the probity, punctuality, and good order of our Government.*"

"*It is the fixed object of my heart to make the general good and the true ſpirit of the conſtitution the invariable rule of my conduct, and on all occaſions to advance and reward merit in every profeſſion.*"

We are warranted, by paſt experience, to put the exactly oppoſite conſtruction on theſe words of the Miniſter; and to ſay, that it is the fixed object of his heart to uſe every poſſible means of corruption, by the diſtribution of honours, places, penſions, and emoluments, to ſupport himſelf in the Adminiſtration; to make the true ſpirit of the conſtitution conſiſt in eſtabliſhing the King's negative voice in Parliament; and that to ſtrain the prerogative as far as in his power, will be the invariable rule of his conduct. "*The King of*

"*England*

" *England is not a King of Mahrattas.—Have we* " *a Monarchy?—Have we a Prerogative?*—We have both, ſettled at the Revolution upon principles which ſecured liberty and ſafety to the conſtitution, as far as human prudence could do it; and I truſt, the Commons of Great Britain have yet ſpirit enough left, to reſiſt every attempt of the Miniſter to ſhake and deſtroy them.—He does not neglect to reward the merits of ſerving his purpoſes in any and every *profeſſion*; even the conſpicuous merit of taking the Chiltern Hundreds, and vacating a ſeat in Parliament. One thouſand pounds a-year penſion, has not been thought too great a price for ſuch merit. Nor are places, ſome for life, to the amount of 8000 l. a-year, too high a price for the ſupport of the talents of a learned Advocate. O England! England! your Miniſter's words bear the ſemblance of truth, while the buſineſs of his heart is only to deceive.

" *To enſure the full advantage of a Government* " *conducted on ſuch principles, depends on your tem-* " *per, your wiſdom, your diſintereſtedneſs, collective-* " *ly and individually.*"

" *The people expect theſe qualifications of you, and* " *I call for them.*"

The conduct of the Houſe of Commons in the laſt ſeſſion, afforded the moſt ſatisfactory proof of its wiſdom, its temper, and its diſintereſtedneſs. No inſinuations of the Miniſter to deprecate "the "evils which might reſult from the diſmemberment of the Empire," can have the leaſt effect in the eyes of diſcerning men. There can be but one opinion of their juſt and temperate ſenſe of abandoning the ruinous, offenſive American war, and the wiſdom and rectitude of their conduct in reſolving on the expediency of putting it immediately in practice. The diſmemberment of the Empire, by granting independence to America, ariſes not from choice but neceſſity, and the only probable means of ſaving ourſelves from ruin, and regaining the confidence of that valuable and injured country. Not all the faſtidious pomp of calling upon the repreſentatives of the people for theſe qualifications, can hide the treacherous hand of the Miniſter, who is ſtabbing them in the dark, and ſowing diſcord between them and the people. The Houſe of Commons will not, they cannot be deceived. The people, naturally more engroſſed by their own affairs than thoſe of the public, may ſuffer from the inſinuation. It is their buſineſs to make a cloſe ſearch: they will then diſcover the ſnare. If the colleagues in office of the Earl of Shelburne think it neceſ-

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ſary to watch his actions, how much more is required of thoſe who ſee him only at a diſtance.

I MORE particularly addreſs myſelf to thoſe perſons who appear anxious for the reform of Parliament. They are deſirous of obtaining the influence of the Miniſter's power in ſupport of their favourite plan. His colleague the Duke of Richmond tells them, that the Miniſter will follow the ſenſe of Parliament—ſo will his Grace—ſo will the greateſt enemy to all the plans of Parliamentary reform—for I underſtand there are many. The preſent mode of repreſentation is certainly not without defect: it is a poſition that cannot be denied. But the inexpediency of dragging a people forward in the preſent critical times (not I hope, as the Earl of Shelburne ſays, "*critical beyond human nature*") who evidently do not deſire an alteration, is ſurely encreaſing the evil. Can there be a ſtronger proof of their not being deſirous of an alteration, than the total ſilence of the people at the laſt General Election? There are many amongſt the favourers of this plan, who have given the moſt unequivocal proofs of their good diſpoſitions, but who, by a ſtrange facility of perverting words, will not allow the people to have any underſtand-

ing of their own, and think themſelves the only proper judges of what is fitteſt for them. If they are honeſt men, and I am ſatisfied many of them act from principle, they will deſiſt from attempts which only favour the deſign of the Miniſter. The Houſe of Commons is the only body of men who can reſiſt the prerogative of the Crown. The Miniſter, conſcious of his power, is uſing all the means he dares, to beget a bad opinion of them in the minds of their conſtituents; and the ſupporters of parliamentary reform are moſt admirable ſupporters to him, in depreſſing their repreſentatives. We do not differ in opinion, that the preſent conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons is not a perfect repreſentation of the people; but when we turn our eyes to the ſeas of blood which have been ſpilt to eſtabliſh its preſent perfection—ſhall we drive our ſhattered bark again to ſea, unable to withſtand the violence of freſh ſtorms, and riſque the dangers of an unknown ſhore? Let us not forget the great and eſſential principle of a Whig Government, that a well connected body of property, of a ſtability and duration ſufficient to give force and vigour to their reſolutions, is the ſtrongeſt barrier you can oppoſe to the prerogative of the Crown; and that an unſtable and fluctuating body is the leaſt able to reſiſt it. Let

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us not, in times which call for the greateſt and moſt unanimous exertions againſt a hoſt of enemies abroad, and a ſtill more dangerous enemy at home, ſuffer our tempers to be ſoured by impracticable and untimely projects, tending to leſſen the conſequence of the Houſe of Commons; the only reſt upon which we can lean with any tolerable hope of ſafety. The people will not ſuffer the Miniſter to inſult their repreſentatives with impunity. They are the only proper judges of their qualifications. They will ſupport them, when they act right. They will condemn them, when they act wrong; and, when their time is expired, will judge them by their actions. They will ſuffer no Miniſter to interpoſe the executive power between them and their repreſentatives. The Houſe of Commons are alone accountable to God and their conſtituents. A jealous people call themſelves, upon their repreſentatives for the qualifications of "*wiſdom, temper, and diſintereſtedneſs, collectively* "*and individually.*" The Houſe of Commons call upon the Miniſter, whom the executive power has appointed, on his peril to refuſe obedience to their reſolutions, or unlawfully to interfere between them and their conſtituents. They will make this proud Miniſter, this Wolſey, anſwerable for every increaſe of prerogative

or

or undue influence of the Crown, more eſpecially if he dares to carry into execution the opinion he has declared, of adviſing the executive power to uſe at pleaſure, a negative voice to the united Acts of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain.

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